l: Karsten--107 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
751, 826 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro comb is of particular interest on account of the magical power ascribed to it, a fact naturally due to its connection with the hair, which according to the Indian view is full of mysterious power. The comb therefore is frequently worn by the men in the long hair as a sort of amulet which protects them against evil influences. The magical significance of the comb is especially shown in the way in which it is used at the great feasts (Pl. XVI, 3)."

1: Karsten--186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
826 (1928-29)

"....I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, [JKM: the case being a Jibaro Indian who had eloped with his father's sister] and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--187 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 587, 826 (1928-29)

"Levirate prevails among the Jibaros, custom prescribing that a man shall marry the widow of his brother. Only if the husband has left no brother is the woman allowed to marry a man of another family. If the widow unlawfully marries or has sexual intercourse with another, the consequence, according to the belief of the Indians, may be the birth of a deaf and dumb or monstrous child (nētsi, pasúna), and the man who married the woman is likely to die soon afterwards. This is due to the belief that the spirit of the dead husband, who is jealous of the wife he left behind, will not cede her to any other man than his brother, who forms with himself as it were one personality and represents him in the most real sense of the word. The custom of levirate among the Jibaros is thus due partly to superstitious reasons and partly to the close relationship which is supposed to exist between two brothers.

A man may of course in many cases be little inclined to marry his brother's widow, especially if she is old and he has already two or more wives. To escape that obligation he may accuse her of having taken the life of her former husband by secret means. 'You have killed your husband with poison', he may say. If he succeeds in rousing the suspicion that she has committed such a crime--which is not altogether unknown in the Jibaro community--the widow may be killed."

1: Karsten--219 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
845, 826 (1928-29)

"The consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child with claws, with hair over the whole body, without ears, or deformed or defective in some other way. Such a monster is called supai huahua 'the son of a demon', and is invariably killed by the Indians who also regard the incident as particularly unlucky and ominous: they have the demon in a material shape in their midst. Among the Canelos Indians the supai huahua is buried alive in the forest. The father of the child, the supai, they say, will himself come and fetch his son; therefore it must not be directly killed but buried alive."

1: Karsten-221-222 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 845, 776, 826 (1928-29)

"It is, however, not only monstrous and defective children that are thus regarded as the direct result of demoniacal action. The same superstition is held about twins, even when there is nothing abnormal in their outward appearance. The primitive Indian is unable to grasp the idea that one man can be the father of two children born at once. Hence when twins are born in a family only the child arriving first can be the offspring of the husband of the woman; the other one must have been begotten either by another man or, more generally, by a demon, and is therefore killed. This belief is found among Indians in different parts of the South American continent and affords the true explanation of the common practice of infanticide in the case of twins. In Ecuador it seems to prevail among all tribes except among the Jibaros.(1) As to the Canelos Indians, it has among them inter alia given rise to that interesting marriage custom which has been related above. In regard to the fear of twins I may add that at Canelos the married men never eat two bananas which are grown together, believing that if they do eat them their wives will give birth to twins.

"1. The superstition in question exists for instance among the Napo Indians and the Záparos. The latter not only kill the second child, but are in the habit of chanting and beating drums every night during a whole month after the birth of twins, in order to counteract the evil consequences arising from the house having been polluted by a demon."

On the other hand, the savage JIBAROS do not seem to share this superstition. On the contrary, they say that they are pleased when twins are born, because they want to have as many children as possible. But [222] even the Jibaros are firmly convinced that children who are born deformed or defective in any way have been begotten by demoniacal operation. Such a child is called nētsi, pasúna, 'deformed', 'monstrous', or iguánchi uchi, 'the son of a demon'. Nētsi properly speaking means 'deaf and dumb', but also 'deformed' in general, and is thus particularly used in the same sense as iguánchi uchi. The Jibaros always kill a deformed 'demoniacal' child by crushing it under the feet, and bury it in the forest.

How the conception through a demon (iguánchi) takes place, the Jibaros cannot explain with the same realistic details as the Canelos Indians, but as to the fact itself they have no doubt. Most generally the birth of a nētsi, pasúna, or iguánchi uchi follows as the consequence of unlawful marriage, especially a marriage within the forbidden degrees of relationship, when brother and sister, or cousins on the male side marry, or when a man marries his niece or a woman her nephew. Such marriages are therefore looked upon with horror and strictly prohibited by Jibaro custom. The birth of a demon (a monstrous child) is regarded as a disgrace and an unfortunate incident not only for the parents but for the whole family and tribe."

1: Karsten--296 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
302, 826 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros the men as a rule wear their hair much longer than the women, and tsantsas [JKM: head trophies] with hair half a metre or more long are therefore not uncommon. The hair, according to the idea of the Indians, is the seat of the soul or the vital power."

1: Karsten--425-426 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 291, 301, 751, 826 (1928-29)

"A conspicuous motive underlying the various ways in which the Jibaro Indian arranges his dress and his personal ornaments is the desire to make him 'hard' against evil spirits; in fact, many of the latter have the character of amulets or magical charms. That the very dress has for its object, not only to afford a natural protection for the body against the changes of the weather, but also to enhance the wearer's natural power of resistance against mysterious influences, is obvious from many in-[426]stances mentioned above. In a state of nakedness the Indian feels powerless and has little resistance against supernatural influences. This is the reason why he always makes his dress with such extraordinary care for instance for the religious feasts, for a journey, for a war or hunting expedition, to pay a visit in a strange house, or to receive guests in his own house. His first task on all these occasions is to arrange his long hair, and to divide it into those three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros, all of them being wound round with coloured bands or basten strips to which great magical power is ascribed. The hair, to the Jibaro Indian, is full of magic power and this is particularly the case with the hair arranged into pigtails. Bound with the basten strip it is made into a magical thing which imparts strength and courage to the Indian and keeps evil influences from him. The Jibaro Indian therefore would never omit, before leaving his house, to make up his hair after this fashion; without his pigtails he is not a real man. A Jibaro who keeps his hair loose looks sickly and weak and is likely to be bewitched by

the evil eyes of his secret enemies. There are, as we know, occasions when he has to observe ceremonial abstinence--for instance after the slaying of an enemy--and when he cannot have his hair made into pigtails but must wear it loose. On these occasions he is bound, as it were, to behave like a 'penitent' and must not challenge the revengeful spirits by his head-dress, as he must not challenge them by his other ornaments or weapons.

Among the articles of clothing which are supposed to give the body strength there is also the girdle of human hair with which the Indian girds up his loins and which is called akáchu. This girdle is not composed of hair obtained from the head of a slain enemy, as has been suggested (1), but it is made of the Indian's own hair which is ceremonially cut on certain occasions. The hair cut at the great feasts is always kept with great care, and when a sufficient quantity of it has been obtained girdles of human hair are made of it."

"1. Rivet, Les Indiens Jibaro, p. 249."

2: Stirling--99 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 826, 152

"The Jivaros are as a rule vain of their personal appearance. In this respect the men rather outdo the women. The Jivaro idea of what constitutes good looks does not differ radically from our own. An athletic physique for men and well-rounded contours for women are admired, as are regular features for both sexes.

Long dark hair is desired and this is a feature which almost all possess."

12: Rivet--361
116, 291, 826

(no date) 1907

Jívaro

To conclude the physical description of the Jíbaro, I should mention the curious habit observed among the natives of Macas and perhaps general to all the tribes, of raising up the penis, by attaching it to a cotton thread which is fastened around the waist, for the purpose, they say, of keeping it out of the way in walking. (1)

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1. Gonzalez Suarez points out this same fact among the old Indians of the province of Quijos. Historia del Ecuador, op. cit., vol. VI, page 56. This strange custom exists still among certain savage tribes of the Napo basin.

20: Dyott--190
116, 775, 826

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"So strong is the faith of the Jivaros, like that of many primitive races, in the supernatural properties of the hair of the head, that they make cinctures of that material; but hair on the face is regarded in quite a different light. It is a sure indication that you are related to the animals of the jungle. My flowing whiskers were not admired, and if the truth were known, speculations were rife as to what particular animal I was related to. The wholesale removal of hair from the human body is practised by the Indians, and with the exception of the scalp, its growth is never encouraged."

25: Vigna--47 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 847, 826

From trustworthy evidence that we possess, we are tempted to say that deformed children (very rare among them) and those unable to face life, disappear among them by custom. The midwives are generally the poorest advisers for the women, in regard to maternity. They know herbs, and serve infusions to check menstruation or to cause abortion.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[16]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

refuse. If there is no infant, this will probably be her only duty.

A girl approximately six years or older may have not only the above tasks, but also directly assists her mother in garden work of all kinds, including planting, weeding, and harvesting. When her mother is making pottery, she imitates her by making and firing miniature vessels and also may form and fire miniature dogs. No dolls in human form are produced, however. A boy who may be tempted to work with clay is discouraged by his father, who advises him not to touch it or else the boy's penis will one day stay soft and limp like a coil of clay.

A boy, when about four, begins to learn the art of blowgun hunting. His father gives him a small hollow reed less than a foot long and makes little darts. The child, who at that age tags along after his mother to the garden, uses it to shoot at butterflies. When he is about six, his father presents him with a real miniature blowgun and a dart quiver. Then, while his mother works in the garden, he wanders about, shooting at the hummingbirds coming to feed at the flowers of the manioc plants. Those that he kills, he brings to her to cook, which she does gravely. He is not allowed to eat them himself, it being believed that he cannot kill again if he does so. By approximately nine years of age, his skill normally has advanced to the stage that he is killing larger birds lurking in the trees around the garden. His father then takes him hunting and gives him his first formal instruction in killing game, and has him assist by carrying it home. In the house, the father encourages the development of other male skills by showing approval when the son attempts to make miniature baskets or model houses and rafts.

Post-puberty boys perform most of the tasks of their

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

796 825 [881] same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts, which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

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